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ABSTRACT

This report presents both a description of the White Plains Racial Balance Plan and an evaluation resting heavily on pupil achievement data. Areas covered include: background information, student population and facilities, personnel, objectives, implementation and modification of the plan, remedial instruction, population stability, parent and teacher opinion surveys, pupil attitudes and behavior, analysis of comparative academic achievement before and after institution of the plan, and finance. (KG)

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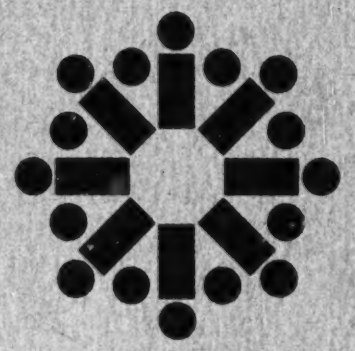
"The Racial Balance Plan"

White Plains, New York

A Report by The Program Reference Service



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PRS 001

"The Racial Balance Plan"

White Plains, New York

A Report by the Program
Reference Service
Program Analyst, Arley Bondarin

Foreword

White Plains is a medium-size suburban community, with a numerically stable population, which in 1964 desegregated its elementary schools. In support of this effort there were many assets present in its school system -- including, a highly-rated and numerically adequate professional staff; a well maintained and under-utilized physical plant; and, comparatively speaking, a lot of money to spend on each child. To the degree that such resources are not available to large urban school systems, and that there are notable differences between their student populations and that of White Plains, the White Plains Plan has limited relevance for major U. S. cities. But, it provides a useful model for the many affluent suburbs across the country which have sizable, de facto segregated minorities whose children are not well served by their otherwise 'excellent public schools.'

In operation for almost five years, the Racial Balance Plan is now securely established as a permanent policy of the White Plains school system. Our investigation shows that its continued success is due in largest part to the skill with which it was developed and implemented by the Board of Education and the Superintendent of Schools. The following factors seem to have been particularly important: (1) the board's efforts to inform and consult with all segments of the community while firmly retaining its decision-making powers and responsibilities; (2) its decision to move before Negro-white tensions had openly fragmented the community; (3) its careful attempt to scale all changes to actual conditions; and (4) its establishment of a mechanism for annually correcting district lines should residential shifts in population occur.

Our report is more than a simple description of the Racial Balance Plan, and a brief note about its additional scope might be useful here. First, we have tried to shape the contents of the report in a way that would deal with White Plains' own evaluation of the Racial Balance Plan -- an evaluation which rests most heavily upon pupil achievement data.* To do this, we have had to look well beyond the planning, implementation,

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*Unfortunately, an attempted full-scale survey of pupil attitudes and behaviors was aborted as a result of strong community pressure; consequently, only such secondary and subjective assessments of change as parents' and teachers' opinions are now available.

and mechanics of racial balance in the schools to the White Plains program of instruction; and a sizable portion of our report is devoted to those aspects of the program which are particularly relevant to the needs of the children who previously attended the community's largely Negro school. Second, we felt that it was necessary to take a hard look at the study of achievement made by White Plains (which, although somewhat lacking in scientific method, is the basis for White Plains' rapidly growing reputation as an effective educational program.) Because our conclusions differ from those of the White Plains study, we have included here an extensive re-examination and restructuring of the data presented therein.

I would make it clear, however, that in spite of these differences, we believe White Plains has developed an effective program. It is far from perfect, and it has not yet solved one of the most important problems of urban school systems -- that of reversing the cumulative deficit suffered by center city children who attended a segregated school. But the program has provided evidence that children from the center city who begin their schooling under the Racial Balance Plan do function at grade level, and that the achievement of their "neighborhood" counterparts is not adversely affected. If indeed this situation can be maintained, White Plains will have gone a long way toward establishing an educational environment in which all children can learn.

JP

Acknowledgements

The Program Reference Service wishes to thank those members of the White Plains school system who were contacted during the preparation of this report. All responded graciously and frankly to the demands on their time. Particular thanks are due Dr. William Hughes, Administrative Assistant to the Superintendent, who scheduled the observations and interviews, provided reports and other materials, and answered many questions during the investigation. His generous assistance was invaluable to the Analyst. We are indebted to Robert A. Matthai for permission to refer to his study of the research findings of a number of desegregation programs. Finally, we are especially grateful to Morton Inger -- for permission to use material from his work on the dynamics of various desegregation efforts, for his careful reading of a draft of the report and the cogent criticisms which were important in clarifying a number of issues, and for his continuing interest in the development of this report and of the work of the Program Reference Service.

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I. BACKGROUND INFORMATION

The setting

White Plains, a suburb of New York City, has a population of about 55,000 and, as of October 1968, an elementary school enrollment of 4655 of which 20 percent is Negro. In the main, the city is residentially segregated between a white population which has been characterized as "high in socio-economic status, upwardly mobile in their aspirations and high in occupational skills" and Negroes who are "by-and-large on the lowest rung of the socio-economic ladder." (R1, Dodson, p.22-23) This condition had been reflected in the distribution of Negro children, particularly on the elementary level, in the White Plains schools.

Prior efforts to effect racial balance

Effecting racial balance had been a consideration of the school board in 1957 in the location of a new elementary school to replace an old plant where Negro enrollment had reached 67 percent. In 1960 a new senior high school was opened to serve the entire city. The old building was converted to a combination elementary and junior high school and a former junior high became an elementary school. The related redrawing of attendance lines included those for Rochambeau Elementary School where in 1960 Negro enrollment had climbed to 57 percent. Nonetheless, by 1963 Rochambeau's Negro enrollment had passed 60 percent, and in the spring of that year the board began considering plans aimed directly at permanently achieving racially balanced schools throughout the system.

Elements of the Plan

The Racial Balance Plan was unanimously adopted by the all-white elected school board in April 1964, a point at which, according to White Plains reports, (R2, Johnson) conditions were particularly favorable for a resolution of de facto segregation in the schools. After an interval of community and school preparation, the Plan was implemented in September 1964. Based on a formula of a minimum of approximately 10 percent and a maximum of approximately 30 percent Negro enrollment in each elementary school, the Plan entailed the closing of Rochambeau (which was later converted to an adult education center) and the redistribution of its 520 pupils, the redrawing of attendance lines for the other ten elementary schools, and the reassignment of about 400 pupils from these schools.

Busing introduced

Busing was introduced for those children living 1 5 or more miles from their assigned schools, and currently includes about one-third of the Negro elementary school children. Almost no white children attending the public schools are bused. However, under

State Department of Education requirements if any public school children are bused, similar service must be provided for private and parochial school pupils; in 1967-1968, 217 of these children were transported along with 290 public school pupils.

Interrelated with the redistribution of the school population has been an effort to incorporate and expand upon instructional practices and supplementary services initiated in earlier efforts to equalize educational opportunity.

Three of White Plains' elementary schools -- Mamaroneck, Rosedale, and Ridgeway -- were visited by the Program Analyst and serve as touchstones in the following description of the Racial Balance Plan.

II. STUDENT POPULATION AND FACILITIES

Negro enrollment

As noted, Negro children comprise about 20 percent of White Plains present elementary enrollment of 4655. These figures have not changed much in recent years and projections indicate almost no increase by 1975. In the year prior to the implementation of the Racial Balance Plan, total enrollment was 4553 with 18.5 percent Negro. Rochambeau's Negro enrollment of 60 percent was almost twice as much as any other elementary school. Five elementary schools had few if any Negro pupils, while five others had Negro enrollments of from about 10 percent to 34 percent.

Distribution of Negro Students

Since the implementation of the Plan, Negro enrollment has varied little in the schools, excepting East View, within the 10 percent to 30 percent guidelines. With the smallest enrollment of any elementary school, East View's percentage of Negro students fluctuates more widely with the normal residential shifts of relatively few students. In 1964, although scheduled under the Plan to have a Negro enrollment of 23 percent, East View opened with almost 32 percent because a number of Negro families had been "temporarily" housed near the school as a result of a fire in another area. The decline in Negro enrollment since 1964 apparently stems from these families finding permanent housing in other school zones.

Table 1

Negro Enrollment in Elementary Schools

	10/63	10/64	10/65	10/66	4/67	10/68	Ratio, 10/68
Battle Hill	13.7%	18.9%	19.1%	19.8%	19.9%	23.3%	125/536
Church St.	34.2	23.7	21.4	26.2	24.9	28.6	116/406
East View	31.9	31.7	30.4	27.4	25.5	16.9	47/278
Geo. Washington	----	17.1	18.1	15.0	14.1	16.0	63/393
Highlands	2.9	12.6	10.7	10.9	10.8	11.2	48/428
Mamaroneck	10.5	19.2	21.7	24.6	24.6	26.2	169/644
North St.	.6	15.8	16.3	19.1	18.5	21.3	72/338
Post Road	28.2	19.0	17.4	16.4	17.6	20.7	146/706
Ridgeway	.7	16.5	14.7	16.1	13.8	13.9	72/518
Rosedale	----	24.0	21.6	19.2	17.7	19.6	80/408
Rochambeau	60.4	----	----	----	----	----	
Total	18.5	19.8	18.6	19.1	18.6	20.2	938/4655

Assignment of center city children

A large majority of the Negro children reside in the "center city" area, primarily in the Winbrook Apartments, a five building low-income housing complex. Under school reassignment an effort has been made to place children from the same buildings in the same schools. This serves not only to provide the transferred children with the support of familiar peers but also to simplify the busing procedures. About one-third of the Negro children, those living 1.5 or more miles from school, ride buses provided by the school system.

Ridgeway and Rosedale Schools are located in largely white, upper-middle class neighborhoods, and prior to 1964 had almost no Negro students. At present, almost all Negro children attending these schools are bused.

Parent busing corps

Mamaroneck School, located nearer the center city, has been characterized by its principal as having a wider socio-economic cross section in its enrollment than the city's

other elementary schools. Although Mamaroneck is just within 1.5 miles of the two Winbrook buildings from which most of the school's Negro children are drawn, the Negro parents, largely on their own initiative and at their own expense (about $5500 a year), have formed a Parent Busing Corps to provide private bus transportation for most of their children. In light of the dissatisfaction with this arrangement expressed by some Mamaroneck parents, the school system has attempted--thus far, unsuccessfully--to find other sources of support for the corps through contacts with various state government departments and private foundations.

Facilities

One of the favorable conditions for implementing the Plan was "ample space in the remaining ten elementary schools to absorb the center city enrollment." (R2, Johnson, p.49) White Plains school plants are noted for their excellence, and the three observed schools, varying in age from about 35 to 10 years, are well maintained, have extensive grounds and, without strain, are able to house a variety of specialized facilities such as gymnasiums, auditoriums and art rooms.

III. PERSONNEL

A number of system-wide positions have been established or enlarged as a result of the planning and implementation of the Racial Balance Plan:

Home-School Counselor

Home-School Counselor (one; full-time)

White Plains school officials have stated that appointees should have strength, through experience and/or training, in guidance or social work and have special rapport with "minority" groups. First appointed in August 1964, the Counselor has been the key liaison between the Negro community and the school administration. During the first years of the Plan the Counselor took on a range of duties from continuous orientation of Negro parents and children, and contacts with a

variety of community agencies, to the overseeing of the bus loading of children. He was, for example, an important consultant in the formation of the Mamaroneck Parent Busing Corps. After three years, and with a new appointee, the Counselor's main focus has narrowed to work with individual families in the center city area.

Coordinator of Volunteers (one; part-time, average of 12 hours a week)

Coordinator of Volunteers

The Coordinator was first employed during 1967-68, in part as a result of a recommendation of the Teachers Association Equal Opportunities in Education Committee (see page 41). Responsibilities include the recruitment and screening of volunteers to work regularly in the schools and the arrangements for resource persons to fill requests from individual teachers for speakers and special demonstrations. The Coordinator works under the system's Director of Pupil Personnel Services. The present Coordinator has a B. A. degree, and a background of graduate study in education with some "practice" teaching, and positions in the PTA.

Purchasing Agent/Transportation Supervisor (one; percentage of time spent on transportation could not be estimated)

Purchasing Agent
Transportation Supervisor

Administration of the busing operation has been incorporated into the role of the system's regular purchasing agent. Busing is arranged by contract with local commercial companies.

Teacher Aides (ten; 25 hours a week)

Teacher Aides

Another result of a resolution of the Equal Opportunities in Education Committee has been the regular employment of a Negro teacher aide from the center city in each of the elementary schools. Duties include:

> 1) Working with individual pupils or small groups of pupils under the supervision of the principal or classroom teacher...2) Assisting teachers on cafeteria duty.../and/ on playground duty. The aides have been highly visible to both the white and Negro children and to parents who visit the schools...In addition,

> the aides have helped to supervise bus loading and unloading....The aides have also been used to relieve the school secretary....Occasionally they have covered for a teacher who has been called out of the room briefly. (R10, White Plains, Appendix C, p.1-2)

School administrators emphasized the value of aides as familiar figures for the Negro children. The aides have been instrumental in facilitating contact between the school and the home and in resolving difficulties in the schools' efforts to involve the Negro children fully in school activities.

Volunteers (37 as of May 1968; part-time)

Volunteers

There are two types of volunteers: one works with children in the schools on a regular basis and the other includes resource persons "to supplement the work of the classroom teacher in a particular subject area at given times during the year." (R10, White Plains, Appendix B., p.1) Each school utilizes some regular volunteers; these vary widely in age, experience and function. "The greatest number (26) are working on a one-to-one basis with the youngster...selected by the school principal, upon recommendations from classroom teachers, school psychologist, and home-school counselor. Almost all of them are from the center city." (R10, White Plains, Appendix B, p.1) In Mamaroneck School, for example, one volunteer assists two days a week in a fifth grade class with a high register, one works two days with a "disturbed" youngster, one assists with a boy with mute parents, and four Manhattanville College students tutor individual children two hours per week. Although no formal evaluation has been made of the effect of volunteers on pupil performance, school principals replying to a questionnaire from the central administration expressed overwhelming approval of the work of the volunteers and noted improvement in the academic performance of the children involved. Resource persons are recruited by the Coordinator of Volunteers and are available to teachers at their request. Local firms and community organizations, such as General Foods Company and the Urban League, have been contacted to supplement the Coordinator's file of resource possibilities, particularly in an effort to include a range of Negro business and professional people in order to widen the experiences of white as well as Negro children.

Teacher/pupil ratio

The regular staffing of the elementary schools enables White Plains to maintain a tea-

cher/pupil ratio of about 1/25 in the primary grades and 1/28 on the intermediate level. Also, a full complement of specialists is available to each school. Rosedale School, for example, has the services of a half-time librarian; full-time music, art, and gym teachers; a remedial reading specialist two days a week; and an "English" teacher one to two days a week for nine Spanish-speaking children.

Stability of Professional Staff

White Plains screens about 3000 applications to fill the 75 to 100 annual vacancies opened through retirement, shifts in residence and failure to secure tenure in the K-12 professional staff of about 560. New York State certification is required for appointment to what is generally a stable and experienced teaching corps. For example, of Mamaroneck's 27 classroom teachers, 14 are tenured (three years in the system) with six of these having 10 or more years of experience.

"Helping teachers"

In addition, seven elementary schools are served by "helping teachers", selected on the basis of their experience and special talents, who not only advise on instructional matters but also offer administrative assistance to principals. In two schools, library and curriculum resource responsibilities are handled by the same person.

Assistant Principals

Mamaroneck is the only self-contained elementary school which has an assistant principal (two other buildings house elementary and junior high schools and have assistant principals in charge of the elementary components). The position was filled for the first time last year by the person who had served as the first Home-School Counselor. He stated that he was appointed in part to "strengthen the human relations" in the school which had experienced some "tension" among its staff. A management consultant firm and the State Department of Education have recommended the establishment of assistant principalships throughout the system on either a full or shared basis, and the elimination of the role of "helping teacher" as it now stands.

IV. DESCRIPTION OF ACTIVITIES

This section will describe the reassignment of the elementary level children under the

Racial Balance Plan and some of the related instructional efforts of the White Plains school system.

A. Effecting Racial Balance

In the summer of 1963, in reply to the State Commissioner of Education the White Plains Superintendent affirmed the Board of Education's commitment to providing equal educational opportunity through "an appropriate distribution of Negro children." Through December of that year, the energies of the board and of the school administration were directed mainly towards the passage of a tax referendum, which was defeated after a campaign in which the integration issue was a factor.

Objectives of the Plan

In the winter of 1963 and spring of 1964, meetings were held with specialists in urban education, State Department of Education officials and parent representatives from Rochambeau School. During that interval, the administrative staff of the school system was asked to draw up a plan which would "(1)...maintain the neighborhood school for as many children as possible; (2)...keep change to a minimum for both white and Negro pupils; (3)...provide an equitable distribution of Negro pupils among all schools; [and] (4)...insure both permanence and flexibility in implementating...the Policy." (R6, White Plains, p.2)

Decision to close Rochambeau

The specific source for the decision to close Rochambeau (the one "imbalanced" school as defined by the State Department of Education's criterion of 50 percent or more Negro enrollment) cannot now be traced. However, given the availability of space in the other schools, it was viewed as the most economical and immediately workable option. The busing of white children on a large scale was rejected as a likely catalyst for widespread white opposition.

Redrawing of district lines

Working with maps of the city, lists of children identified by race, the 1.5 mile busing requirement, the 10 percent - 30 percent guidelines for Negro enrollment, and the capacities of the schools, the administrative staff sifted through alternative methods of redistributing pupils and redrawing attendance lines within the framework mentioned above to arrive at the Racial Balance Plan which the board adopted and presented to the public in the spring of 1964.

The map on pages 24 and 25 illustrates the projected reassignment of students under the Plan. (At the public meetings held at the time of the Plan's adoption, specific figures as to the numbers of Negro and white children to be shifted from each school were presented.

Unfortunately, these figures are no longer available; however, in some instances, the Analyst was able to make estimates on the basis of information at hand.)

AREA 1 - The major rezoning entailed the absorption of most of the Rochambeau district into the new Post Road zone. All children within the new zone were within walking distance of the school.

AREA 2 - About 90 former Rochambeau children, almost all Negro, from one Winbrook building were to be bused to Ridgeway.

AREAS 3 and 6 - About 90 children, mostly Negroes, from one Winbrook building (Area 3) and a nearby square block (Area 6) would be bused to Rosedale.

AREA 4 - Approximately 75 children, mostly Negroes, from another Winbrook building who had attended Post Road would be bused to North Street.

AREA 5 - About 70 children, almost all Negroes, from a fourth Winbrook building, who had gone to Post Road were scheduled to walk to Mamaroneck.*

AREA 7 - About 40 to 50 white children from Highlands would walk to Mamaroneck.

AREAS 8 and 9 - Former Rochambeau children, mostly Negroes, (Area 8) would be bused to George Washington, while white children who had attended East View (Area 9) would walk to George Washington.

AREAS 10 and 11 - Negro children from Church Street (Area 10) and from East View (Area 11) would ride buses to Highlands.

AREA 12 - About 45 white children from George Washington would walk to Church Street.

A small group of children from Rochambeau's "special" classes were assigned to Battle Hill school. Further, as noted earlier East View and Highlands house both elementary

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*See Page 11, regarding the Mamaroneck Parent Busing Corps.

and junior high schools, and some Highlands junior high students were shifted to East View to provide space at Highlands for the influx of elementary pupils.

Parent option

An option was given to those parents of children in the fourth and fifth grades -- excepting, of course, those attending Rochambeau -- who might want their children to remain through the sixth grade in the school they had been attending.

Transportation

At present, six buses and four "mini-buses" are used to transport the approximately 500 public, parochial, and private school pupils. Most make two runs, the second most often for the private and parochial school children. There are two loading points for the public school children, the main one near the Winbrook apartments being supervised by a paid aide. White Plains school officials have not found it necessary to assign adults to ride the buses regularly with the children.

Only minor adjustments in the above description of the Plan were necessary when it was implemented in September 1964. Since that time it has remained within the framework of maintaining the neighborhood school for as many as possible (92 percent of White Plains elementary children now walk to school); keeping change to minimum (10 percent of the elementary population, aside from Rochambeau children, were reassigned); providing an equitable distribution of Negro pupils (see Table 1); and insuring permanence and flexibility (see Page 42).

B. Related Instructional Efforts

Project Able in White Plains

The redistribution of Negro children in the elementary schools has been accompanied by efforts to improve instruction throughout the system. Prior to 1964, the main effort in White Plains to bridge the gap in academic achievement between Negro and white children was focused on Rochambeau School. Project Able, a five year program begun in 1961 with matching state and city funds, enabled the school to supplement its staff and the range of its instructional activities in an attempt to (1) "identify those experiences, both of the school and home, which favorably affect the school achievement of the children"; (2) modify accordingly the instructional program; (3) involve parents more fully; and (4) stimulate a greater awareness by teachers "of their part in the total picture." (R7, White Plains, p.3)

In 1964, with the beginning of the Racial Balance Plan and the closing of Rochambeau,

the program was shifted, with some additional funding, to the other ten schools. Project Able was terminated at the end of 1965-66; however, state and federal assistance has been obtained to further some of the programs and practices initiated by the project, such as the Reading Improvement Program now supported through E.S.E.A. Title I.

Curriculum revision

Although during the five year period the project had no "marked effect on achievement", the experiences of parents, pupils, and staff have been viewed by White Plains as providing a sound basis for effecting a relatively smooth transition into the Racial Balance Plan, and, more generally, for the intensified effort to structure productive learning experiences for all children through appropriate activities and materials. (R7, White Plains, p.37) Thus, during 1966 the curricula in social studies, language arts, mathematics and science were revised to include "sections specifically geared to educationally disadvantaged children and slow learners." (R7, White Plains, p.37) "Multi-ethnic" and urban oriented materials and a variety of programmed instructional materials are increasingly available to the elementary schools.

The effort to provide meaningful learning activities is ongoing, and deficiencies have been noted in individual schools as well as throughout the system. One principal remarked, for example, that his staff in the primary grades has expressed dissatisfaction with instructional materials which, in its view, are inadequate for countering the insufficiently developed discriminatory skills of center city children. The staff in these grades is exploring adjustments in teaching strategies and content through, for example, an extensive use of the children's experiences in story construction and concept development with a greater emphasis on the use of such equipment as primer typewriters for motivation and skill reinforcement.

Ridgeway's reading program

An example of a more systematic curriculum modification is Ridgeway School's "continuous progress plan" in reading, developed in the primary grades (K-3) and now extended through the intermediate level (4-6). The result of three years of planning and consultation, persuasion and orientation of teachers, experimentation and revision, the plan is designed to adjust instruction to the differing abilities and learning rates of individual children. At the primary level grade labels have been deemphasized within the framework of White Plain's grouping policy of "planned heterogeneity" for maintaining racial balance in the classroom. Pointed towards organizing three levels, not necessarily consecutive, within the self-contained classroom, the plan establishes sixteen levels through the primary grades, with a child beginning at an odd-numbered level keyed to the Scott-Foresman basal series. Satisfactory progress, judged by standardized and teacher-made tests, permits the child to move to the next odd-numbered level. If added work is needed, a child moves to the even-numbered "transitional" level using the

Bank Street Readers. A wide variety of trade books, workbooks, programmed and "semi-programmed" materials complement the work at each level.

The plan does not provide for any marked degree of mixing of age groups, and although a tendency for Negro children to be grouped at the "lower" level within the classroom has been noted, the principal has written, in a statement to the Board of Education that the plan "falls within the...present 'planned heterogeneous' grouping guidelines. Even with a limit of 3 levels per class, we would have a wide range of abilities.... This would give the teacher the advantage of 3 distinct reading groups and a diverse population."

At present, Ridgeway is considering a similar "continuous progress" plan for mathematics. Rosedale and Mamaroneck Schools have not adopted comparable large-scale organizational designs; but both have confirmed to the Analyst their support of the system's commitment to increased individualizing of instruction within the boundaries of the racially balanced classroom. Efforts to enlist further supplementary assistance and additional space and time for individual and small group instruction are said to be receiving high priority from administrators.

Title I Reading Improvement Program

In its instructional effort, White Plains has given particular attention to its system-wide Reading Improvement Program through (a) a centrally located "remedial" Center to which those children who are two or more years below "expectancy" level go each day half-time; and (b) a "corrective" program in each school, in addition to scheduled classroom reading time, for less severely handicapped children whose estimated potential is not being tapped through regular instruction.

The program is supported through E.S.E.A. Title I funds, and during 1967-68, its second year, was staffed by one half-time and two full-time reading teachers; 38 volunteers, most working two and a half days a week at the Center; one half-time psychologist; a clerk-typist; and a director, who administered the Center, supervised the reading teachers, and was responsible for planning, writing, and evaluating the program.

Last year approximately 90 elementary children attended the Reading Center and about 290 received corrective instruction in the schools. Most of these children were from the center city. The program postulated that academic gains effected through its intensive efforts "should also result in improved self-image and attitude toward education" and thereby "should also contribute toward more satisfactory integration" in the schools. (R9, White Plains, p.3-4)

Title I: The Reading Center

The Reading Center is housed in seven rooms at Battle Hill School. In groups of eight to ten, based on age and instructional level, the children meet each day for two and a quarter hours with a teacher and a volunteer, who provides "additional individual attention." (R9, White Plains, p.2) Instructional guidelines call for (1) adapting techniques and materials to the individual child's instructional level to effect "success without frustration"; (2) proceeding in small steps, "easily handled and 'overlearned'"; (3) drawing upon all senses through a variety of audio-visual aids, writing exercises, and perceptual training materials; and (4) continuous review and reinforcement. (R9, White Plains, p.5-6)

Title I: Corrective reading in the schools

"Corrective" reading in the schools is conducted in groups of about five children, three times a week for 30-40 minute intervals. Nine of the full-time reading teachers spend half days in the schools instructing children and conferring with classroom teachers. Two full-time and the one half-time teacher work only in the schools. The instructional procedures are basically the same as those used in the Reading Center. Periodic conferences and informal meetings are held with classroom teachers in an effort to integrate the objectives and techniques of the program with those of the regular instruction.

Title I: Supportive services

Supportive services for the reading program have been provided through "the Reading Center psychologist /who/ tested and evaluated children. She also conferred with teachers and parents. Psychologists assigned to the school system were 'on call.' Services of the social workers, the home-school counselor and health services were...through the home school." (R9, White Plains, p.2)

Title I: Evaluation

The first objective of the program was "to improve performance as measured by standardized achievement tests." (R9, White Plains, p. 3,15) Evaluation was done by pre-and-post testing, in September 1967 and June 1968, with appropriate alternate forms of the California Reading Test (California Test Bureau). A summary of findings is presented in Table 2, on the following page.

The figures indicate that there is an overall pattern of progress as a result of the experience in both the Reading Center and school programs. However, careful reading of the report (R9, White Plains) reveals that not all children in the program were selected according to the specified criteria. From the range of scores on the pre-test, it appears that there were at least a few children close to and, in some instances, above grade level. From these and other data in the report, the progress of individual children cannot be followed. However, 61 percent of the children tested in the Reading Center and 50 percent of those in the corrective program made one or more years gain. (R9, White Plains, Tables I-D, III-D) Further, between 80 and 85 percent of the class-

Table 2 (R9, White Plains, Tables II & IV)

Mean Years of Gain and Grade Level Range: Post-Test - June, 1968

	Reading Center			Schools		
		Mean Years			Mean Years	
Grade	N	Gain	Range	N	Gain	Range
2	(4)	1.5	2.4 - 4.5	(36)	.8	1.1 - 4.2
3	(16)	1.2	2.3 - 4.2	(38)	1.0	1.6 - 4.4
4	(12)	1.2	2.9 - 5.0	(36)	.8	2.6 - 5.5
5	(11)	.8	3.6 - 5.5	(73)	1.2	3.3 - 7.0
6	(20)	1.3	3.5 - 7.4	(49)	1.0	4.0 - 7.7

room teachers replied to a checklist questionnaire and made generally favorable estimates of academic performance and attitudes of the children in the two programs. (R9, White Plains, p.7,13)

Attitude changes in the Reading Center children were also gauged through checklists given to parents and a questionnaire (Philadelphia Public Schools, Division of Research 1966-1967) administered to 42 children, ages nine through fifteen, in October 1967 and June 1968. (R9, White Plains, p.8-12)

Thirty-seven of 70 parents replied, although those with elementary level children are not specified in the report. The number of respondents noting attitude improvement ranged from 25 ("toward himself") to 32 ("toward homework" and "toward family").

The 42 children were asked to respond in 12 areas, (e.g., neighborhood, school, grownups, myself) in terms of "emotionally-toned" words (e.g., happy-sad) "along a 3-degree dimension (very, somewhat, both or neither)." On the entire questionnaire, the report states that although "significance of differences was not tested, inspection indicates that positive responses more than doubled and negative responses decreased in the same proportion." (R9, Whate Plains, p.10) Twenty-seven children responded with more positive words during the post-test. In the reading areas, "positive responses increased almost 300% and negative responses decreased more than 200%," and 24 children gave more positive answers in June while 10 gave more negative answers. (R9, White Plains, p.10)

Evening study centers

A further supplement to regular school instruction is an expanding program of evening study centers operated in cooperation with the local Community Action Agency. Begun in 1963-64 at the Winbrook Housing Project, the program now includes four centers set up "to provide children in disadvantaged neighborhoods with regular additional help in elementary school subjects and skills." (R10, White Plains, Project #1, p.2)

The centers are supervised by paid teachers drawn from the regular staff, each working two hours a night two nights a week, and a range of volunteers from the local high schools, college and community organizations. Winbrook, the largest center, employs three teachers and has a paid neighborhood aide "who has brought a stability and continuity to the study center operation which has been very important to the children." (R10, White Plains, Project #1, p.3) Beginning in 1968-1969, the program will be coordinated by the Assistant Director of Pupil Personnel Services, a newly created position.

Nightly attendance has averaged from 11 at a small storefront center open twice a week to 70 at Winbrook which is open four nights. About 125 children utilized the four centers regularly during 1967-68.

No formal evaluation of the program has been conducted although "comments from classroom teachers, building principals, and parents indicate that the study centers have been instrumental in assisting children to improve their performance during the regular school day." (R10, White Plains, Appendix A, p.4) Plans for the coming year include the administering of questionnaires to children, staff, and parents with a related effort to improve connections between study center activities and those of the regular classroom program.

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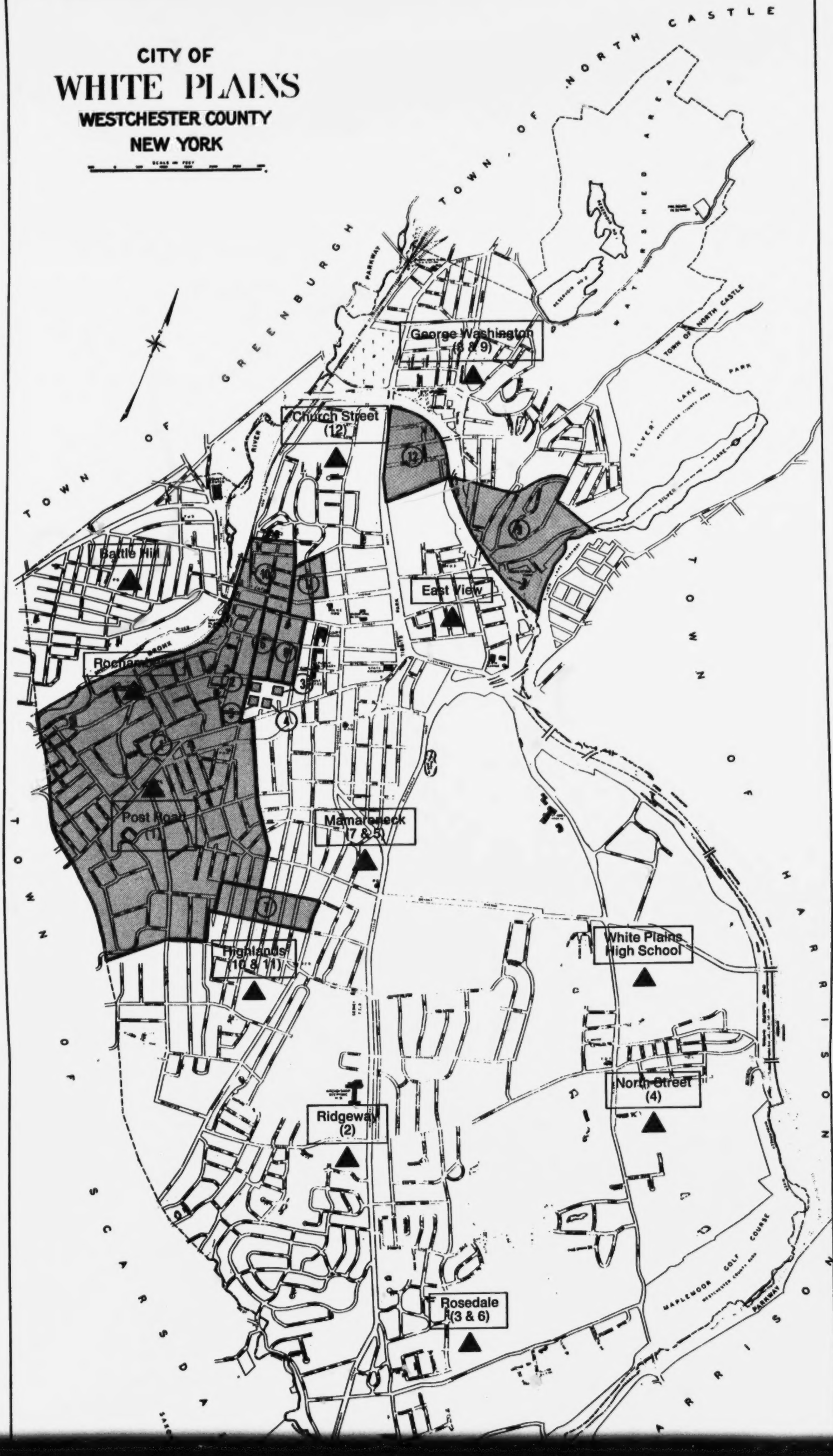
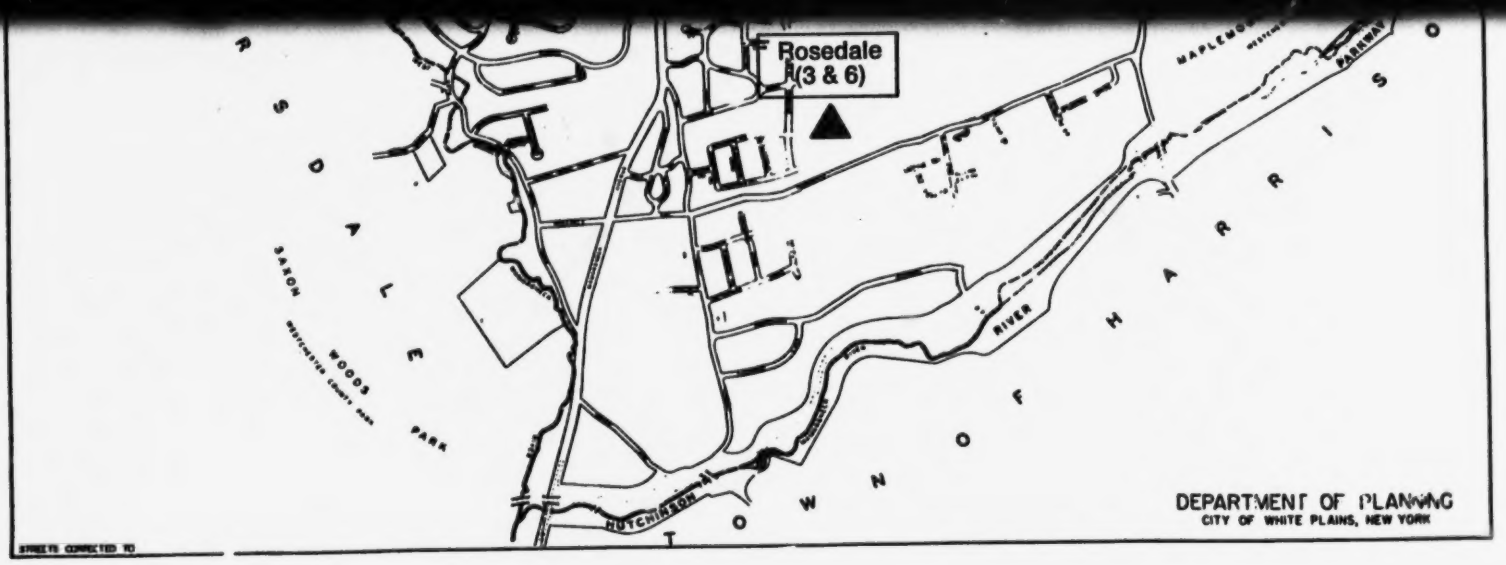
WESTCHESTER COUNTY

NEW YORK





Reassignment of Students

Area	Former School	New School	Method of Travel
1	Rochambeau	Post Road	Walk
2	Rochambeau	Ridgeway	Bus
3	Rochambeau	Rosedale	Bus
4	Rochambeau	North Street	Bus
5	Rochambeau	Mamaroneck	Walk*
6	Rochambeau	Rosedale	Bus
7	Highlands	Mamaroneck	Walk
8	Rochambeau	George Washington	Bus
9	East View	George Washington	Walk
10	Church Street	Highlands	Bus
11	East View	Highlands	Bus
12	George Washington	Church Street	Walk

*See page 11, regarding the Mamaroneck Parent Busing Corps.

V. EVALUATION

A report on the Racial Balance Plan was issued by the White Plains Public Schools in October 1967. (R8) It included information on pupil transfer patterns, results of surveys of parent and teacher opinion, and a study of pupil academic achievement. Much of the data included in the following assessment of the Plan are drawn from that report.

SUMMARY: The main objective of the Racial Balance Plan has been accomplished. The proportion of Negro children in each school has been stabilized within the intended guidelines. Positive responses to the Plan -- by parents (white and Negro) teachers, and administrators -- outweigh negative responses. The high academic achievement level of White students has not been adversely affected. Thus far, the achievement of center city children who entered balanced schools no earlier than third grade has not been markedly improved; however, there is slight evidence of some success with center city children who entered balanced schools at first grade.

A. Population Stability

Population Stability

A thorough check by White Plains of pupil transfer figures (R8, White Plains, p.36-37) indicates there has been no white departure of significant scope from the public school system, either through shifts in residence or transfers to local or out-of-town private and parochial schools. Public school enrollment has been constant since 1960 as has been the percentage of Negro enrollment. Relatedly, as shown in Table 1 the distribution of Negro pupils in the elementary schools has evidenced little variation between schools and has remained within the 10 percent to 30 percent guidelines since the plan was implemented.

B. Parent Opinion

Parent opinion survey

The White Plains opinion survey of parents offers evidence of their support for racial balance in the schools. (R8, White Plains, p.38-52) Parents of every elementary level child were mailed questionnaires.* Of the 863 responding, 821 had had children in elementary schools other than Rochambeau. Of these, presumably mostly white, 30 percent reported "all positive" aspects to racial balance, 16 percent "all negative", 19 percent both "positive and negative," 30 percent saw no difference for their children, and 5 percent did not reply to the question.

Parent response: positive

Those parents who saw all or some positive results of the Plan remarked most frequently on "understanding children of other backgrounds" (90 percent) and, secondly, on "relationships with other children". Effects on achievement were cited least often as a positive aspect (9 percent).

parent response: negative

The pattern for those who saw all or some negative aspects to the Plan tended to mirror that of the positive responses. Negative effects on achievement were specified most often (63 percent) while similar effects on understanding children of different backgrounds were mentioned least (38 percent). As the evaluation points out, "the greatest concern about the negative effects was evident in the responses of parents whose children were enrolled prior to 1964 in schools which became integrated as a part of the racial balance plan." (R8, White Plains, p.47) However, it should be noted that parents in this group who responded "all positive" (N=51) gave greater weight to achievement (23 percent) and understanding (100 percent) than did the "all positive" respondents in the other mostly white parent groups. (R8, White Plains, p.42)

Parents of children in previously all-white schools

Parents of Rochambeau children

Forty-two parents of children who had attended Rochambeau School prior to its closing returned the questionnaire. These parents were by far the strongest supporters of racial balance with 28 (66 percent) responding "all positive", none responding "all nega-

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*The 3308 questionnaires distributed included ones to every tenth parent from an alphabetical list of secondary and high school pupils. The White Plains report does not specify the total number of elementary level parents who received the questionnaire, but an estimate by the Analyst indicates about a 30 percent return.

tive", one "positive and negative", 12 (28 percent) no difference, and one not replying to the item. (R8, White Plains, p.47)

C. Teacher Opinion

Teacher opinion

Responses to the survey of teacher opinion paralleled the parents' reactions. (R8, White Plains, p.53-62) Of the 123 elementary teachers replying (a 70 percent return), 32 percent checked "all positive" aspects to racial balance, 11 percent "all negative", 47 percent "positive and negative", and 12 percent did not answer this question. Teachers in schools which prior to 1964 had few, if any, Negro pupils were somewhat more ambiguous in their feelings than their collegues who had experienced at least some degree of pupil integration.

Table 3 (R8, White Plains, p.62)

Elementary Teachers' Responses to Effects of Racial Balance

Schools	All Positive	Pos. & Neg.	All Negative	No Response
Integrated before 1964 (N-59)	34%	42%	12%	12%
Integrated after 1964 (N-57)	21%	61%	12%	5%

Teacher response by grade level

Teachers were asked to comment on achievement, behavior, interaction, and "other factors." The "consensus" of responses on the positive aspects of racial balance emphasized the social benefits for all children. However, in their perceptions of

effects on achievement, primary teachers (K-3) remarked on the scholastic improvement of center city children ("...have achieved more and have improved in ability to learn"), while the intermediate level teachers (grades 4-6) stressed the effects of exposure to the white middle-class model ("...are inspired and develop higher standards for themselves"). Relatedly, in the consensus of comments on negative aspects, the primary teachers expressed concern for the center city child ("...often becomes frustrated by pressures to do well and cannot work up to his full capacity..."); the intermediate teachers seemed more sympathetic to the white child ("...superior student is slowed down because teacher has to devote a larger proportion of time to the center city youngster"). (R8, White Plains, p.55-56)

D. Pupil attitudes and behavior

Pupil attitudes and behavior

No formal study has been reported of pupil behavior and attitude. In 1964 attitude questionnaires were administered to children but were withdrawn and destroyed when strong parent opposition developed.

Most administrators, teachers and teacher aides contacted by the Program Analyst were encouraged by their observations of pupil interaction during the past four years. School personnel mentioned special efforts to overcome obstacles, such as distance between home and school, to full involvement of Negro children in after-school activities. Mamaroneck's assistant principal cited the election of seven Negro children to seats, including the presidency, on the 20 member "student advisory group" (grades 4-6) of that school. Those interviewed remarked on the increasing degree of "mixing" in such informal settings as playgrounds and lunchrooms. The Analyst observed that older Negro girls particularly tended to isolate themselves in these situations; however, this may be as much a function of age and sex as of race.

E. Academic Achievement

The major elements of the White Plains study of pupil achievement are as follows:

Academic achievement: research design

1) Groups compared: (a) 129 white pupils at third grade in 1964 and fifth grade in 1966 in four newly integrated schools ("neighborhood group") compared with 150 white pupils in third grade in 1960 and fifth grade in 1962, i.e., prior to racial balance, in the same four schools ("1960 control"); (b) 33 mostly Negro pupils entering five new schools at third grade in 1964 and in fifth grade in 1966 ("center

city group") compared with 36 mostly Negro children in Rochambeau School in third grade in 1960 and fifth grade in 1962 ("1960 control"); (c) 44 "center city" children who entered newly integrated schools in 1964 at first grade compared at third grade (1966 test results) with 33 "center city" children who entered the newly integrated schools at third grade (1964 test results). These groups were selected for comparison "primarily because achievement test data for a three-year period is now available for these children." (R8, White Plains, p.6) More accurately, the data span a two-year interval with the comparisons based on tests administered at the beginning (October) of third and fifth grades or first and third grades.

2) Instruments used: (a) Four subtests -- paragraph meaning, word meaning, arithmetic reasoning, arithmetic computation -- of the Stanford Achievement Test, Primary Battery (grade three) and Intermediate Battery (grade five); and (b) California Short Form Test of Mental Maturity, Primary S Form, administered at third grade. Data for this test are not reported except in noting that between the "neighborhood group" and its "1960 control" "the total I.Q. scores vary only four points at the median" (R8, White Plains, p.9) and between the "center city" group and its "1960 control" the median I.Q. scores were two points apart. (R8, White Plains, p.19)

3) Method of reporting: (a) comparative percentile rankings based on national norms at the median, first, and third quartiles, and (b) "years of growth" compared at the median, first, and third quartiles, for each of the four subtests.

Achievement of neighborhood groups

After comparing the white "neighborhood group" with its "1960 control" the report concludes that:

> ....the achievement of neighborhood children has not been adversely affected by the presence of center city children in their [sic] schools. Rather, the data suggest that the achievement of these children is, in many respects, better than the pattern shown by the Control Group which was composed only of neighborhood children attending these schools prior to the Racial Balance Plan. (R8, White Plains, p.18)

Table 4 - Neighborhood (R8, White Plains, p.10-17)

	Median Percentile Rankings Based on National Norms Stanford Achievement Test							
	Paragraph Meaning		Word Meaning		Arithmetic Reasoning		Arithmetic Computation	
	3rd	5th	3rd	5th	3rd	5th	3rd	5th
Control (1960-1962) N=150	76	78	88	90	80	70	36	40
Neighborhood (1964-1966) N=129	85	85	95	90	80	80	45	55

Table 5 - Neighborhood (R8, White Plains, p.11-17)

	Median Years of Growth between Third and Fifth Grades Stanford Achievement Test			
	Paragraph Meaning	Word Meaning	Arithmetic Reasoning	Arithmetic Computation
Control (1960-1962)	2.6	2.8	1.8	2.0
Neighborhood (1964-1966)	2.5	2.6	2.3	2.2

In terms of both median percentile rankings and median years of growth, the first part of the report's conclusion appears to hold with no pattern of marked gain or loss across the subtest areas. But it does seem excessive on the basis of the data presented to suggest that "in many respects" the achievement of the group in balanced schools was better than that of the control group. Inasmuch as the third grade levels of the groups are not the same, the higher or equivalent median percentile ranking at fifth grade of the 1964-1966 group may simply reflect their higher third grade rankings--determined by testing in October 1964 before a racially balanced setting could have significantly affected performance.

Further, whereas Table 4 shows that the 1964-1966 group's rankings between third and fifth grade remained the same in two subtests, declined in one, and rose in one, the control group rose slightly in three and declined in one. This lack of a clear shift is seen also in Table 5 in which the median years of growth for the 1964-1966 group are slightly less in the two reading subtests and slightly greater in the two arithmetic subtests than for the control group.

Overall, the fact that, with the exception of Arithmetic Computation, the median percentile rankings are far above the national median and, in all areas, the amount of "growth" was above 2.0 years demonstrates the exceptionally high academic levels of White Plains white children and confirms the conclusion that their performance has not been retarded since the implementation of the Plan.

Achievement of center city groups

The achievement data of the center city groups are summarized in Tables 6 and 7. Comparing the median percentiles, there is little overall difference, with the exception of Arithmetic Reasoning, in either the degree of decline over the two years or the fifth grade rankings between the group in balanced schools and the control group. Similarly, the median years of growth for the two year interval are about the same for the two groups. Further, it may be noted that the center city children who at third grade entered newly integrated schools had their first and second grade experience at Rochambeau, which had been the prime focus of Project Able prior to the Racial Balance Plan. Hence, the combination of additional efforts in the largely Negro school and the later experience in a racially balanced school seems to have had little, if any, effect on the academic achievement of this group in comparison with the control group.

The "cumulative deficit"

The data tend to highlight the so-called cumulative deficit characteristic of the academic achievement of the urban poor which, in the report, is related to "living in a section of the city which through the years has produced children who can be described

Table 6 - Center City (R8, White Plains, p.20-26)

Median Percentile Rankings Based on National Norms
Stanford Achievement Test

	Paragraph Meaning		Word Meaning		Arithmetic Reasoning		Arithmetic Computation	
	3rd	5th	3rd	5th	3rd	5th	3rd	5th
Control (1960-1962) N=36	50	30	50	40	45	25	25	10
Center City (1964-1966) N=33	35	25	50	35	45	40	35	10

Table 7 - Center City (R8, White Plains, p.21-27)

Median Years of Growth between Third and Fifth Grades
Stanford Achievement Test

	Paragraph Meaning	Word Meaning	Arithmetic Reasoning	Arithmetic Computation
Control (1960-1962	1.1	1.4	1.3	1.2
Center City (1964-1966)	1.4	1.4	1.3	1.0

as educationally disadvantaged." (R8, White Plains, p.28) In an effort to gauge the extent to which children were falling behind, the report examined test results for third and fifth grade "to determine how many made two years' growth in one or more achievement areas...and how many made one and one-half years progress." (R8, White Plains, p.28).

Table 8 - Center City (R8, White Plains, p.29)

Between Third Grade & Fifth Grade	1960 No. of Children	%	1964 No. of Children	%
Made at least two years' progress in one or more areas	9	25	15	45
Made at least 1.5 years' progress in one or more areas*	15	41	13	39
Made less than 1.5 years' progress in all areas	12	33	5	15
	36		33	

*This line includes only those children who made between 1.5 and 1.9 years of growth in one or more areas, and none of those who made 2.0 or more years of growth in one or more areas.

The report "suggests that the number of children in the 1964 Center City Group who are falling behind may be less than in the 1960 group," and tentatively concludes that "many

children seem to be keeping up in one or more areas and hence as they go on in school the difference between their achievement and their placement may become narrower rather than greater..." (R8, White Plains, p.29)

Given the small samples and the rather uninformative criterion of "one or more areas," the statement that "many children seem to be keeping up" appears to be a thin basis for projecting the possibility of a narrowing of the gap between achievement and grade level. Although the statement may be true, the data in Table 8 offer no evidence that any of the children are doing any more than "keeping up," which would be insufficient to lift them closer to grade level.

The achievement gap in 1960 and in 1964 compared

Further, in a study of the research findings of 15 busing programs, Robert Matthai points out that, viewed in light of White Plains' high degree of success with neighborhood children, the report's conclusion does not take account of the fact that "as a

Table 9 - (R4, Matthai, p.45)

White Plains: Differences Between Negro and White Group Performance*

	Paragraph Meaning		Word Meaning		Arithmetic Reasoning		Arithmetic Computation	
	Pre (3rd)	Post (5th)	Pre (3rd)	Post (5th)	Pre (3rd)	Post (5th)	Pre (3rd)	Post (5th)
Difference between 1960 groups	26	48	38	50	35	45	11	30
Difference between 1964 groups	50	60	45	55	35	40	10	45

*The terms "Negro" and "White" in Matthai's table refer to "center city" and "neighborhood" as used in the White Plains evaluation and in this report.

group" the 1964 center city group "is at a worse disadvantage compared to contemporary white /i.e., neighborhood/ students" than was the 1960 center city control group. (R4, Matthai, p.45) From the data in the White Plains report, Matthai has calculated the differences, at the median, in percentile rankings between the center city and the neighborhood groups.

With the exception of the Arithmetic Reasoning subtest, the center city group in racially balanced schools, by fifth grade, was further behind its neighborhood contemporaries than was the center city group prior to the Racial Balance Plan.

center city groups and national median compared

However, only a small part of this difference is accounted for by an actual decline in center city percentile rankings.* When, as in Table 10, a similar comparison is made

Table 10

Differences Between Center City Medians and National Median

	Paragraph Meaning		Word Meaning		Arithmetic Reasoning		Arithmetic Computation	
	3rd	5th	3rd	5th	3rd	5th	3rd	5th
1960-1962	0	20	0	10	5	25	25	40
1964-1966	15	25	0	15	5	10	15	40

between the center city median rankings and the national median (the 50th percentile), the decline is considerably less marked and obtains in only two of the subtests. But,

*Table 6 shows that, of the three subtests in question, there was no change on one, and

even against a less demanding standard of performance than that set by the White Plains neighborhood children, no clear trend has been established towards closing the gap between achievement and grade level for those children who entered balanced schools in the middle of their elementary school careers.

Table 11 - Center City (R8, White Plains, p.31-34)

Median Percentile Rankings at Third Grade Based on National Norms
Stanford Achievement Test

	Paragraph Meaning	Word Meaning	Arithmetic Reasoning	Arithmetic Computation
Rochambeau (N=33)	35	50	45	35
Racially Balanced (N=44)	50	55	50	35

The clearest and most encouraging data in the White Plains report (Table 11), particularly in light of the generally accepted importance of the early grades, is in its comparison of third grade center city children, who attended first and second grades in balanced schools, with children whose first and second grade experience had been in

a drop of five percentiles on each of the other two. The difference then would seem to be as much a function of White Plains sustaining the extremely high level of performance of the neighborhood children since the implementation of the Plan. Had neighborhood percentile rankings declined during this interval, a comparison less unfavorable to the center city children would have resulted.

Rochambeau School.

The data support the report's conclusion that "center city children who entered first grade in 1964, in an integrated situation.../are/ achieving slightly better at third grade than did the center city children who spent the first and second grades in a segregated school." (R8, White Plains, p.35) The children in the balanced schools, on three of the four subtests, are at or slightly above the national median. Whether this level of performance can be maintained and thereby avoid the "cumulative deficit" tendency must await further data, which, it is hoped, will be more firmly grounded in larger samples and more information regarding the characteristics of the compared groups.

VI. IMPLEMENTATION AND MODIFICATIONS

Published accounts, which are readily available (R1, Dodson; R2, Johnson; R3, Johnson) or in preparation (R5, Stout and Inger) have detailed the circumstances which prompted the adoption and facilitated the implementation of the Racial Balance Plan in 1964. Consequently, these will be only touched upon here.

Although there is a wide socio-economic difference between whites and Negroes, both segments of the community are relatively stable. There has been some shift in recent years in the ethnic makeup of the white population, but generally it is residentially permanent with a high percentage of home owners. The Negro proportion of the total population (14 percent) and of the school population (20 percent) has been relatively constant and does not appear likely to increase significantly in the near future.

Community support for desegregation

In this context there was support in key sectors of the community for the Board's dealing effectively with de facto school segregation -- a concern heightened by an awareness of the demonstrations and violent eruptions experienced in other cities. "The community was relieved that it had escaped...and was receptive to any program..." (R2, Johnson, p.48) The leadership of voluntary organizations, most notably the Parent

Teacher Association, were active in creating "a climate of acceptance for the school integration plan." (R2, Johnson, p.48)

Lack of political pressure

Local political factors do not seem to have played a significant role. School administrators and the board, while maintaining contact with city officials, were able to work independently of the city administration. Hence, White Plains could move through informal channels and avoid a severe community fragmentation triggered by forced confrontations. (R1, Dodson, p.99)

Strong stand of superintendent and board

Independent observers, as well as White Plains school personnel, have emphasized the care and firmness of the Superintendent, collaborating with a committed board, in guiding the Plan to realization. There was never a question of the Plan being optional, although the tenor of public response was carefully calculated during the months prior to the Plan's implementation. Throughout this interval, components of the Plan, the manner of its public disclosure, the response to its opposition, and the mechanisms for its implementation were carefully framed.

Public disclosure of Plan

Although the local newspaper, briefed throughout the planning stage, had reported on the board's deliberations, and the staffs of Rochambeau and the central administration had been apprised, the first public disclosure of the details of the Racial Balance Plan was in March 1964 at "an invitational meeting" to which "every service, civic, neighborhood and professional organization in town" were to send representatives. (R2, Johnson, p.49) A meticulous presentation with a full review in the next day's issue of the newspaper was followed by three weeks of speaking engagements by the Superintendent, his staff, and members of the board at a variety of group meetings throughout the city.

The board's resolution

On April 16, 1964 the board unanimously adopted a resolution which, in part, stated:

> ...it is the responsibility of this Board to provide equal educational opportunity for all the public school children of this city and...in accomplishing this, the Board believes it necessary to maintain a reasonable racial balance in all of the city's schools; and whereas, it is the position of the State Education Department than any racial imbalance existing in a school in which the enrollment is wholly or predominately Negro interferes with the achievement of equality of educational opportunity and must therefore be eliminated from the schools of

> the State of New York...this Board...proposes by this Resolution to adopt a plan to correct the imbalance now existing at the Rochambeau Elementary School with the further understanding that periodical checks and effort will be made to maintain a racial balance in all city schools in the future....

Opposition

Opposition to the Plan had been developing and at this meeting a petition of 1200 signatures calling for a referendum vote on the Plan was presented but rejected by the board. Aware that opponents of the Plan were to present protest letters and telegrams, the school system mobilized strong counter efforts. "The speed with which the board acted, the unanimity of the board and the administration, and the thoroughness of the school system's preparation caught the opposition off guard and gave them little opportunity to coalesce." (R5, Stout and Inger, manuscript) Another current of opposition led to legal action seeking an injunction against the Plan which was denied by a Justice of the State Supreme Court in April 1965.

The Superintendent has characterized community reaction to the Plan as being about 45 percent enthusiastically favorable and the rest marked by "open-minded acquiescence" or "sullen acceptance." (New York Herald Tribune, 6/27/65). A crucial factor in general white support for the Plan was the limiting of busing to Negro children. "Cross-busing in White Plains would have been vigorously resisted, even by parents who truly embrace the concept of integration." (R2, Johnson, p. 49) Further, with the Plan supported by whites and busing confined within the community to about one-third of the Negro children, there was little evidence of the increasing tendency in other cities for the Negro community to "consider it an affront to require that they inconvenience themselves and their children in order to attend schools with whites." (R1, Dodson, p.127)

Preparations for instituting the Plan

Preparations for implementing the Plan began to crystallize during the summer of 1964. The Superintendent's Policy Advisory Staff, composed of principals, area supervisors, and personnel with system-wide responsibility, which ordinarily provides a regular forum for the discussion of administrative and instructional matters, devoted most of its attention during these months to the details and anticipated problems of the opening days of school. Thus, for example, meetings with school secretaries were held in order to minimize the risks of "front office tie-ups."

The dissemination of the results and resources of Project Able provided some orienta-

tion of the staff throughout the system. Further, the term of the Project, through 1965-1966, enabled the planners to sustain some continuity in supplementary services for the children from Rochambeau. The reassignment of Rochambeau staff was keyed to the needs of the receiving schools with Rochambeau's principal filling the vacancy in that position at North Street School, which previously had almost no Negro pupils.

Rochambeau staff

However, despite the careful approach to racial balance, the superintendent stated that "one fundamental error was our failure to fully involve the faculty when we were making plans..." (R2, Johnson, p.56) In an effort to resolve some of the difficulties arising from the need to adjust to new patterns of instruction and classroom management a number of professional groups have evolved within the school system.

Teacher involvement in planning

The Equal Opportunities in Education Committee is an arm of the local Teachers' Association. It has been directly responsible, through its recommendations to the superintendent, for the employment of the Coordinator of Volunteers and the teacher aides, and for the expansion of the teacher supervised evening study centers. It helped prepare an annotated guide to films in the area of "human relations". In collaboration with other groups serving the system, the committee has highlighted the continuing need for reorienting curriculum and teaching strategies to meet the varied instructional demands now present in each school. Currently, the committee is exploring mechanisms, such as "sensitivity training", in a continuing effort to modify teacher attitudes toward Negro children. Relatedly, it is exploring with the city-wide Parents' Association the possibility of initiating similar work with White Plains' parents. Also, the committee is planning an inservice study program for teachers to acquaint them with current issues and innovations in elementary education.

Equal Opportunities in Education Committee

By last year each elementary school had formally established a teachers' curriculum council. The members of the curriculum council are chosen by their fellow teachers and meet regularly to deal with such instructional concerns as selection of books and materials, innovative practices, scheduling, and discipline guidelines.

School curriculum councils

Also, there is a system-wide curriculum council consisting of elected representatives from each school, three appointees by the superintendent, three representatives from the Teachers' Association, and the assistant superintendent for instruction and curriculum. This group may authorize, and support with small amounts of money, curriculum changes recommended to it by a school council. Thus, for example, Ridgeway School was authorized to extend its "continuous progress plan" in reading through the intermediate grades. The system-wide council may also initiate proposals for consideration by the

System-wide curriculum council

Superintendent and his policy advisory group. Recently, it established major "task forces" in discipline procedures, science curriculum, and Negro history and culture to investigate and recommend to the Superintendent improvements in these areas.

Adjustments of district lines

The Racial Balance Plan is the permanent policy of the White Plains Board of Education. Enrollment figures are published in April and October of each year, and minor adjustments in attendance lines are made if necessary to maintain the balance within the 10 percent to 30 percent guidelines. For example, with the shifts in residence resulting from the recent opening of a low income housing complex in the East View area, Negro enrollment at Highlands began to decline while that at East View rose. In 1968, the number of children bused from the East View zone to Highlands was increased.

Within the framework of the Plan, as suggested throughout this report, White Plains continues to explore means of improving its instructional program. In addition to the curriculum modifications being explored, White Plains is undertaking an extensive analysis of recent achievement data in an effort to isolate and identify those variables which may be significant in affecting academic performance.

VII. BUDGET

Inasmuch as the Racial Balance Plan is confined within the city's school system, in contrast to an urban-suburban transfer pattern, it is difficult to pinpoint continuing special costs, other than for transportation, stemming directly from the implementation of the Plan. Services and staff positions which have been created or enlarged since 1964 in an effort to better the school performance of center city children are available to all children; hence, costs can be considered as part of the regular school budget. In a letter to the Program Analyst, a White Plains school official stated:

> We estimated that the anticipated cost of implementing the racial balance plan in 1964-65 was cancelled out by anticipated savings which were to accrue by closing

the Rochambeau School as an elementary school. Since that time we have made no efforts to figure a cost of integration as such.

Cost per pupil

The yearly cost per pupil in White Plains is among the highest in a state which ranks first in the nation.

Table 12

Total Actual Cost per Pupil

	1963-64	1964-65	1967-68
White Plains	$1108	$1155	$1424 (estimated)
New York State	705	796	982
United States	455	484	619

Annual rate of increase

However, the yearly rate of increase has been lower in White Plains than in either the state or the nation. Between 1963-64, before the Plan, and 1964-65, the Plan's first year, the increase was 4 percent compared to 13 percent for New York State and 6 percent for the United States. Apparently, desegregating the White Plains schools did not put an unusual financial strain on the system.

Sources of support

Costs for the supportive personnel, other than the Home-School Counselor, total approximately $30,000. One-half of this amount is contributed by the state from funds provided for programs which promote racial integration in the public schools. The following are figures for busing and for some of the personnel discussed in the report:

Current expenditures

Item	Amount	Comment
1. Transportation	$72,605	For 290 public and 217 private and parochial elementary pupils in 1967-68. Includes one-half the salary of the purchasing agent/transportation supervisor.
2. Home-School Counselor	$900 higher than teacher's salary schedule at each point.	Same base as school social workers, psychologists, guidance counselors.
3. Coordinator of Volunteers	$ 3,200	$8.00/hour x 400 hours.
4. Teacher aides (10)	$18,563	$2.25/hour, 5 hours/day, 5 days/week x 33 weeks.
5. Supervising teachers, evening study center (6)	$ 4,992	$8.00/hour, 2 hours/day, 2 days/week x 26 weeks.
6. Neighborhood aide, evening study center (1)	$ 1,612	$62.00/week x 26 weeks.
7. Bus stop supervisor (1)	$ 1,278	$2.25/hour, 3 hours/day, 5 days/week x 33 weeks.

Title I funds

The Title I supported reading program outlined in the report was budgeted for approximately $190,000 for the regular school year 1967-68. This amount included corrective and remedial assistance for 100 secondary school pupils as well as the 380 elementary level children. For 1968-69, the program has a budget of almost $200,000 for 300 elementary children and 93 secondary students.

VIII. REFERENCES

A. Descriptive literature

1. Dodson, Dan W. Citizen response to school desegregation. New York, Council for American Unity, in process.

This comparative study of ten desegregation efforts in New York State was completed in October 1967. Page references in the report are to the original version (mimeograph) prepared for the New York State Department of Education, Albany, New York.

2. Johnson, Carrol. "Achieving racial balance." School management, v 12, January 1968. p.45-49, 52, 56, 58.

This article is a comprehensive summary of the planning, implementation, and evaluation of the Racial Balance Plan prepared by the Superintendent of the White Plains Public Schools.

3. _____ "Racial balance: a case study." New York state education, v 55, December 1967. p.16-19, 39.

Also by the White Plains Superintendent, this article focuses mainly on the background leading to the adoption of the Racial Balance Plan.

4. Matthai, Robert A. "White Plains, New York." In: The academic performance of Negro students: an analysis of the research findings from several busing programs. Cambridge, Mass., Harvard Graduate School of Education, 1968. Unpublished mimeo. p.41-46.

This study is a chapter in a work which analyses the research designs and results of 15 major integration efforts in the United States.

5. Stout, Robert T and Inger, Morton. School desegregation: Progress in seven cities. In preparation.

This analysis, originally prepared for the United States Commission on Civil Rights, of the dynamics of school desegregation focuses on the decision-making process and on the conditions of public acceptance or rejection of plans in Berkeley, California; Coatesville, Pennsylvania; Englewood, New Jersey; Rochester, New York; Syracuse, New York; Teaneck, New Jersey; and White Plains, New York.

B. Progress reports and evaluations

6. White Plains, New York. Public Schools. The White Plains Racial Balance Plan. May 1965. 13p.

This account is an earlier version of #3.

7. _____ Project Able, 1961-1966. July 1966. 38p., appendices.

This report on the state supported compensatory program begun in the Rochambeau Elementary School touches on the project's connections with the implementation of the Racial Balance Plan.

8. _____ The White Plains Racial Balance Plan, forward and evaluation. October 1967. 62p.

This extensive evaluation of pupil achievement since the beginning of the Racial Balance Plan also includes the results of teacher and parent opinion surveys, and an examination of pupil transfer patterns.

9. _____ Narrative evaluation report for 1967-68 regular school year program funded under E.S.E.A. Title I. Undated. 18p., tables.

This progress report on the "corrective" reading program in the elementary schools and the "remedial" instruction at the centrally located Reading Center includes data on achievement and attitude change.

10. _____ Project #1, providing educational supervision at neighborhood and school evening study centers; project #2, coordinating volunteer services; project #3, providing teacher aides from disadvantaged neighborhoods. June 1968. Individually paged, appendices.

These applications for state aid include progress reports on the study center program, the use of volunteers, and the teacher aides during 1967-1968.

C. Program material

11. White Plains, New York. Public Schools. Film overtures to better human relations. 1968. Unpaged.

This annotated guide to 19 films is organized according to grade level and indexed by topic.

12. White Plains, New York. Ridgeway Public School. The Ridgeway plan for continuous progress education. August 1967 and June 1968. 2v.

The first volume of this complete guide for teachers covers levels 1-16, corresponding to grades one through three. The guide to the intermediate grades, levels 16b-22, is in the second volume. The levels are color coded with complete inventories of the skills and materials appropriate to the level.

D. Supportive research cited by program personnel

13. Coleman, James S., and others. Equality of educational opportunity. Washington, U. S. Department of Health, Education, and Welfare, Office of Education, 1966. 737p.

14. U. S. Commission on Civil Rights. Racial isolation in the public schools. Washington, 1967. 2v.

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